



# *Avalanche*

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**Anarchist correspondence**

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## Editorial

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*December 2016*

Internationalism is the perspective that tries to get rid of the imposed concepts of borders and states, since the struggle and the solidarity of the enemies of all domination has to be carried beyond all barriers and borders of power. Internationalism means considering the international dimension of local incidents and processes as well as it means the internationalist dimension of the anarchist idea – that of a liberating perspective for each human being no matter in what place, no matter where she comes from. Since in this world liberation has always something to do with destruction, the ground on which we can get to know each other and discuss and meet far away from identities and clichés, from masks and shame, is also the ground on which we tell about our struggles, about struggling for freedom and about the destruction of our oppression. Where we talk about how we try to express our hostility against all domination in practical terms and dynamics.

The idea of this publication is to gather different contributions in which the authors speak from their own perspective and viewpoint about struggles and developments taking place where they live, thus making it possible for an internationalist readership to comprehend them. *Avalanche* is at the same time an attempt to stimulate a reciprocally feeding discourse and to be a frame for eventually developing correspondences. Correspondence in the sense of the idea and possibility to take up questions and perspectives of other contributions and spin and carry them further in direction of the own reality or criticizing and questioning them. Like this can arise potentially a stimulus, an intensification of perspective and a clarifying of ideas. But this is although a big challenge, because it needs the active participation of different comrades. Maybe exactly this is fundamental for internationalism: Relationships don't just come to life where one is pleasing and consuming each other, and one still stays separated through distances, no, but rather where one is challenging each other – and one is confronting oneself with the challenge of coming together to deal with each other, to honestly and directly express the proper ideas, proposals and critiques.

In this sense we want to confront ourselves with the reality of the internationalist relationships and see, from whom contributions – so new texts or already published texts with a short introduction – are getting sent, and with whom it is possible to discuss about possible contributions – also interviews – instead of artificially constructing a participation by publishing articles from other publications or the internet. And for sure it is more likely possible on the basis of real relationships to ask and dig deeper for contributions to this project. Maybe this digging deeper for something is an important aspect that gets lost in many ways in the world of the internet. A digging in direction of “what’s happening at the moment? Where do we want to go? And how and on what ways?” Fundamental questions that should be at the beginning of any project and affinitarian relationship, and with which one is confronted again and again. And exactly ‘cause these questions are something basically individual, the “answering” of these questions can be done by nobody but ourselves. Those that are really in place and involved in the struggles can probably say and reflect best what’s going on and where they want to go. The role of those who think they can explain everything to others or recuperate struggles for themselves, opens the door for ideologization and delegation. A relationship cannot be developed on the basis of prefabricated frames of explanation and a prejudged perception, on the abstraction of concrete realities and the objectification of individuals, but only where everybody speaks for oneself. This is the basis where we imagine this project and the basis on which we call all those, that feel affinity to this project, to contribute to it.

The translation, reading and spreading of different texts, the traveling and discussing, the coming together and partially the realization of different undertakings are all things that a lot of comrades share and practice in an international frame. But often the common level stays on exchanging information and stories, something that is inspiring and important, but cannot really break the feeling of living in two separated worlds. A separation that can't be broken through feigning ourselves that

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we're fighting one common struggle together, as long as for the *common*, what we really share of individual analysis and methods, of perspectives and imaginations, is neither asked for nor searched. Is it the proposal that we are making each other, to just simply do what we also do in our place? Or is it possible – on the basis of a correspondence and the knowledge of specific contexts that comes with it – to develop a common proposal? Not as a fixed construction but as a core of common analysis and affinities – how it would be now possible to develop a real connection between different projects of struggle? Not to fall in the illusion that we then would be all on the same page, that we would have to become more or stronger and more powerful – no, the asymmetrical conflict that is always refusing to imitate the model and method of domination is a basis of our anarchy. But rather because we all really have one bowl under our feet and the processes of power do not only cross the frame of single countries, but carry in themselves an integral, global projection.

Far reaching infrastructural changes of power are taking place. For example it was possible in some few months to close the few remaining gaps in the borders of Europe, controlling them with help of police and military and to install a cross-border system of repatriation, expulsion and camps which concentrates the undesirable migrants at the gates of Europe. Other processes

too, which show themselves – depending on the place – specifically, but are developing internationally and nearly without disturbance, are about to transform the reality of our contexts far beyond just a construction of a new, specific manifestation of domination (lets look for example at the plans in the field of the coming energy supply, the new technologies and the “smart” cities). But, as this projects are developing transboundary, they need for their realization beyond and above the frame of single borders the same undisturbed circumstances and infrastructures, the same unimaginative resignation and lack of initiative from the side of the oppressed... maybe this is the terrain, that tries to understand the realities and circumstances of the changes taking place, also a basis to – starting from the specific analysis – find common elements and try out how the bordercrossing loss of control of domination and the connection of struggles can be accomplished.

With the attempt to circulate the redaction of this publication we stand also in front of an attempt towards practical internationalism – a decentralization and an experiment. Maybe this also can help us to discover what it could mean nowadays to develop an insurrectional internationalist projectuality.

*Some anarchists living somewhere in Germany*



# Let the fire spread

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September 2016 - Sweden

*Let the fire spread*, is a text written under significant circumstances, concerning the late summer and early fall unrest in Sweden and Denmark this year (2016). We, the authors, are comrades who grew up and lived most of our lives in different Scandinavian countries but who were not there as the events unfolded. As has already been shown in the text *Social tension and anarchist intervention in Sweden in Avalanche issue 2*, the social tensions in Scandinavia and most of all in Sweden are not something new. And sadly enough, the lack of initiative and even ability to analyse and imagine something else and new among many comrades in the Nordic countries, also is not something new. When the fires once again started to spread between cities and neighbourhoods and even countries, we all agreed that we just could not let this pass without a single anarchist attempt to intervene. This time, the most commonly used method of attack used by the rebelling individuals was to set cars ablaze, which in comparison with the rioting and group attacks of the past years, is something very easily reproducible for a small group and even for an individual, which in itself presented a good opportunity to reintroduce other perspectives and terms but most of all, an imagination of a different way of fighting than the ruling one. The ruling one being very society-friendly and humble; rude and uncompromising only when it is sanctioned by the state. In the end this text is, besides a deficient analysis and a proposal, an attempt to spread another imagination and ideas of what it means to fight authorities, to fight this society, which in its obvious absence left comrades to a defeatist retreat during recent years. We decided to translate the text from the originals in Swedish and Danish to English, on the one hand to let international comrades know that what *UpprørsBladet* wrote in 2014, still is an ongoing reality in Scandinavia, and on the other, to let our ideas and way of intervening be debated or criticized by comrades closer to our ideas. As this introduction text is written, beginning of November, the text has been widely spread – from hand to hand as well as online – but with the coming of colder winds and snow, this wave of unrest must be considered as over or

at least cooled down. However, we hope that our text might provoke another mindset and other discussions for the next wave to come.

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**Låt elden sprida sig / Lad ilden sprede sig / Let the fire spread – an analysis of the last months car burnings in Sweden and Denmark and a proposal for intervention**

The last months, something which belongs to the everyday life of the Swedish suburbs, has sprawled like a weed in the garden of social peace and has come to take the shape of a nameless and apolitical revolt. The simple act of setting fire to a car has, precisely for the reason of its simpleness, let itself be reproduced in small towns as well as bigger cities, on both sides of the Öresund, in segregated areas as well as in central, rich and well-integrated ones. Everything from single incidents to (what seems to have been) co-ordinated actions throughout the city. From society the response came from police, fire departments, media, politicians and random experts, who made statements and promised or proposed a serious amount of actions; actions which does not only serve to stop the car burnings but more generally increases the repression against those who does not want to toe the line. With this text we aim to create a modest analysis, followed by a more determined proposal for an intervention in this conflict between anonymous individuals and society. An anarchist intervention without any place for politics or negotiation. The way we see it, all we have got to loose in this, is the comfortability that kept us from burning the first car.

## Chronology and the problem with media

It has been hard to keep up with these events as they have developed. As soon as one has tried to put together a chronology for a better overview, new events have unfolded – on the part of society as well as its antagonists. For us, it is also clear that the greatest source of

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information that we have and have had, has been official media reports, as other ways of communication have lacked. So with the words of some comrades in mind: "The millions of words and images that fill the screens and (toilet)papers are not an echo or reflection of reality, they form an integral part of the creation of that reality, of the imposition of the morals, rules and logics that permit the existence of the State," (\*1) it is not without self-critique that we use this information. This information has obviously already come in handy for politicians and good citizens, according to the quote above. So even if this information serves our enemies, we will use this information with the aim of overthrowing those who created it. We do not know what has been going on in the sphere of social media but take it for granted, that these so called tools have not been used to analyze and spread these actions, with the aim of expanding the situation to a social revolt. If it is only the case that the media would have hyped and sensationalized these events, which allegedly happens all the time, with the same intensity(\*2), this does not change the fact that these actions – the car burnings as well as the numerous attacks on cops and other uniformed – in themselves carry with them revolt and the potential for social revolt. Therefore, it is hard to know where to draw the line between what belongs to this specific escalation and what belongs to a more broad and constant social tension. We do not want to hijack the actions of different individuals, just to confirm our ideas; to project our longing for an expanded revolt on individuals and actions, that carry their own reason, meaning and will. So even if it is hard not to involve events like the organized attacks on cops and other officials in Kronogården, Trollhättan, or the ones that unfolded in Södertälje or Örebro, we will stay with the car burnings. In part because of their intense sprawl during the last months and in part because they do entail a very simple and reproducible method for attacking normality. In the first two weeks of August, the news sites and magazines were filled with headlines like "16 cars were burned in 5 hours," "Minister of Justice: 'damned fed up' with the hooligans," "20 cars burned last night," "The government calls for heavier punishment for the car burners," followed by a daily repeated: "More car burnings last night." In connection to this, experts in sociology, firefighters, cops and people who got their cars burned were interviewed. The cops desperately promised to and did engage with a more intensified presence in the affected neighbourhoods – without any greater success. In Ronneby, however, the cops were a bit more realistic as the chief inspector on duty made the following statement: "We are short on officers right now, it's vacation times and all, so I can't promise any additional patrols in the area," in connection to cars being burned three nights in a row in the small town. In reaction to this, the municipality decided to hire security guards to patrol the streets instead. Between the 1st of July and the 17th of August this year, the fire brigades in each city reported 134 car burnings in Stockholm, 108 in Malmö and 43 in Göteborg. Throughout 2016, up until the middle of August, 154 cases of car burnings

were reported in Malmö alone, where in several cases it concerned more than one vehicle. In the first week of August it was estimated to have burned seven cars per night in the city area of Malmö. In the first weekend of August a cop car was set ablaze, as the patrol was responding to some reported disturbances in an apartment. With its epicentre in Malmö, according to media coverage, the car burnings spread to several other cities. In the night between the 16th and the 17th of August a car fire in Norrköping led to the complete destruction of twelve cars and additionally at least seven cars were damaged. Meanwhile there were continuous reports of car burnings in smaller cities like the aforementioned Ronneby but also in Skara, Varberg and Borås as well as in bigger cities like Stockholm, Linköping, Göteborg, Västerås and Södertälje. In the middle of August the car burnings spread to Denmark, where cars were burning several nights in a row. In the night of the 20th of August ten cars were set aflame. Since then it has continued with varying intensity, in different areas of the Danish capital like Christianshavn, Amager, Nørrebro, Valby and Vestegnen. According to media, there has been at least 50 cars burned in the area of Copenhagen, between the middle of August and the middle of September. The cops did not hide their suspicion, that the fires might have been inspired by the situation in Sweden and immediately started investigations to catch the agitators and calm down the situation. In the media they called out for witnesses and the cops went through an extensive amount of video material from CCTV in the affected areas. Pictures and description of a suspect was made public and after several anonymous tips, a person was arrested and locked up the 24th of August, suspected of having burned ten cars and of having attempted to burn another 23. This, however, did not stop the fires, that continued in different places around the city. Also the stinking wannabe-cops, the SSP:s (a co-operation between school, social services and the cops, that has as its aim to keep an eye on and prevent kids from committing crimes), increased their activities because of the car burnings and reinforced their numbers in the streets in certain neighbourhoods, as to prevent the youth to be inspired by the fires. Every night in the first week of August, the Malmö cops engaged with a helicopter in the hunt for the car burners. The 11th of August, obviously not for the first time, this helicopter was being pointed at with a green laser and for this two youngsters were arrested later that night. The cops interrogated them, with the hope of a connection to the car burnings but the two detainees were released the next morning and apparently leaving the cops without any leads. The 15th of August, according to the press, a 21 year old person was arrested at a traffic control in Rosengård. The cops claimed the car to be full of gasoline canisters and a hammer for breaking windows. The person was released on the 18th of August, as there were no legal grounds for incarceration but the suspicions remained. The same day the cops presented a new action to be taken in their struggle against the car burnings. For the first time in Sweden, drones would now be used by cops,

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primarily to hunt down the car burners. The drones will, according to the cops, guide the reinforced MC-patrols and plain clothes officers on the ground. The proposal came from and will be carried out by the NOA, the cops National Operative Unit, and the equipment will be supplied by SAAB (a company whose production for the military market most likely will find additional “civil” uses, other than just drones for hunting car burners).

### **The response from society**

To increase our understanding of the whole situation but also to see where one can find possibilities to extend these acts of revolt towards insurrection, we want to have a closer look at the circus that society kicked off as a reaction to the unrest. It is interesting at a first glance, to see how the burning of cars continues to spread in silence, while the media, politicians, cops, experts of all sorts and active citizens competes in being the loudest and most condemning one concerning these events. In the silence the actions speak for themselves and would they be left in their silence, all you hear is the fire crackling, no more explaining would be needed. But the silence is dangerous and brooding for the ruling order. The best remedy against silence is of course to make noise, talk and distract, to take over the power of definition. In Sweden they talked about failed integration and vandalism, while in Denmark they initially talked about pyromania, i.e. the burning of cars was declared as a disease. An assumption that was soon abandoned, as the “suspected pyromaniac” was detained and the car burnings still continued to spread. The discussion then went into a direction more similar to the Swedish one, with focus on juveniles. In the first case the act (of burning a car) is isolated and said to be an act limited to poor youth with a migrant background, which makes it harder for others not fitting into these categories to identify with the actions. In the other case the act is pathologized. I.e. if you identify with these actions, you ought to consider yourself sick, a pyromaniac, which, with the power of social shame, causes a distancing in most people. The same actions, the same silence, confronted with a lot of noise from society. In Sweden these discussions have had time to develop further than in Denmark and the ruling politicians have proposed harder punishments, not just for the car burners but to hit two birds with one rock, for the whole social category of juveniles. The proposal would, when carried out, mean that on-call courts are established, that the ankle monitor is allowed to be used in younger ages and that the surveillance measures in probation convictions against juveniles would be intensified. The political opposition calls for more cops and for a return to the former, recently changed, police organization. Sociologists are warning about the negative consequences of harder punishment and propose instead to increase the presence of the cops in the streets, as this allegedly was the reason for the de-escalation in the similar situation in Sweden some ten years ago. Circling around the rotting carcass of these discussions, we find the silent vultures.

They who, with their businesses, profits from the car burning and foremost from the societal circus surrounding it. The drones of SAAB has already been mentioned but we also have the insurance and security companies. In several articles in for example the Swedish Radio, the public is informed about how the “traffic insurance” is not enough on its own, to cover the cost in case of a car fire but the car must be at least “half insured” to cover the damages. One does not have to have studied at a business school to understand the economic value for the insurance companies, in such a well-meant and informative article. Especially when it is followed up by articles where spokespersons from insurance companies are reassuring that the insurance for the people living in the affected neighbourhoods will not be raised or different than in less affected neighbourhoods. In places like Ronneby, where the cops left their uniforms in the closet and are chilling somewhere else, the municipality decided to hire a security company, to instead have security guards patrolling the streets.

### **In connection to riots or mass actions like the ones in Örebro and Södertälje**

In two Södertälje suburbs, two nights in a row, youngsters were building burning barricades and attacking buses as to lure the cops to them. When the cops arrived, they attacked them with stones and fireworks. One of the nights, a stone broke the front window of a cop car, sending a cop with a damaged eye to the hospital. In the Örebro neighbourhood, a bigger amount of masked individuals gathered and moved around in the area. Setting a laundry-facility on fire, also to lure the cops to them, and then greeting the cops with molotov cocktails, rocks, fireworks and golf sticks. Extra guard patrols from different companies are called in as foot soldiers next to the cop cavalry. Security companies that, through the last years so called “refugee crisis”, has experienced a new Klondike-era for their businesses. Companies that, enriched with experiences of beating up people of colour, gladly continues with this – the Department of Migration now substituted with the cops, for the guards to step in for, and the refugees substituted with car burners, in their role as moving targets. These vultures remain vultures, only as long as they are allowed to work undisturbed, as long as they can keep a distance between themselves and the dramatic centre of these events. Just like in an ecosystem, they fulfil an important role in the maintenance of the societal system and contribute to choke the brooding revolt. In the social peace, every break means a possibility for revolt and insurrection; the break is in itself not seldom a conscious act of rebellion, however limited to one unique individual and one unique situation. The break uncovers the conflicts that the social peace otherwise covers. What we in our everyday lives choose to swallow, in terms of submission, is spit out and all the words about us living in “the best of bad worlds,” about “that’s just how it is,” etiolates in the face of the obvious discontent with the lives we are forced to live

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in this society. A burned out car might not feel like the starting signal for a social revolt but at the same time that is exactly what it can be. What it can become. It can at the same time be a single individuals attack on the social peace, on the social order, as it can be a sabotage of another individuals function in the maintenance of the same. This we see as factors, independent of the fact that it goes down with intention and with a wish for revolt or if it happens out of boredom, for some cash or for a personal vendetta. The social peace, where the state claims the exclusive right of mediation and population control, does nonetheless, with or without the intention of the assailant to overthrow the society, get attacked when a car is burned. In the normality that we are all expected to reproduce, there is (still...) no space for burning cars. Even less for burnings car without a clear and graspable reason, that almost freely spreads over great distances and regions. When this spreads as it has done during the past months, it is impossible, even for the people in power, to ignore the existence of a social conflict. What they instead try to do, is to isolate the conflict to belong only to a small discontent and untamed group – with whom the majority, as already mentioned, should not have something in common. It becomes a matter for the police, for the politicians and the sociologists. The state tries to make the matter intelligible and manageable in its role as mediator. It tries to make it into a matter and a conflict between the authorities, with its loyal specialists, and a group of “badly integrated youth”. Thus not what it actually is: individuals like you and me in conflict with the life we are forced to sustain under these circumstances.

### **From anonymous revolt to apolitical insurrection**

“This crime is very hard to investigate. We don’t see any patterns and we don’t have any suspects. We need all the help we can get,” - Malmö cop Lars Forstell. We are not only interested in the car fires that are sweeping across Sweden and Denmark because they carry the spark of rebellion, but also because they offer us another way of understanding insurrection, because their apolitical character gives us a hint about a different tactic. The car fires are an uncontrollable attack on society, because they are spread all over the territory which the state controls and are not focused on specific symbolic targets. They are simple to reproduce anywhere and any time, and it is impossible for the police to be everywhere at the same time. Political movements are fixed on the idea of gathering a movement or a certain category of the exploited in front of a symbolical aim in the belief that if enough people are gathered, power will be forced to change. In reality, these methods are easy for the state to control, because it is not so difficult to gather the repressive forces in specific places with a predetermined date. Even anarchists who actually criticize this perception of struggle, continue to reproduce this logic. Why all the demonstrations to symbolic targets surrounded by heavily equipped police? Why always be a step behind the state and the police? The car burn-

ers show the way to a different form of conflict with the state. Constant, uncontrollable, flexible and destructive. Here it is the police who is lagging behind. Sure, car fires will not be enough to overthrow the existent. But they do open up for a, in the Scandinavian context, new way of understanding insurrection, and gives inspiration for different tactics for our struggles. They give us a springboard that we can use in our individual revolt in the leap towards a social insurrection, and that is, one must say, more than political movements have created in Scandinavia for a very long time. Speaking of political movements, the struggle around the partly occupied house Rigaer 94 during the past half a year showed how the car fires can be used as a method, but also showed their limits, which might be interesting to shortly consider. (\*3) In the struggle around Rigaer 94 it was, in our opinion, the same factor which caused the rapid and intensive diffusion, that also became the reason why the conflict was not expanded beyond concerning only anarchists and autonomists. This factor was the limiting of the struggle to the house and local area. Compared to Scandinavia, Germany is full of autonomists and anarchists, of whom many joined in on the promise made by comrades to cause 10 million euro of damage – some because they identify with Rigaer and act in solidarity, others because they are constantly looking for new events to react to, and found one in this. Which leads us once again to have a conflict between a small group of easily categorized individuals (anarchists and autonomists) and the state, with the rest of society as spectators and commentators. The conflict thus came to circle around a symbolic target, which gave the state at least a hint about where to send its repressive forces, and made it easier to handle and predict. Most other people who could have an interest in burning cars or otherwise revolt against society, do not have an obvious point of reference in Rigaer, or in the subculture in which it is based. Presumably even less when people start saying that they are political, or that burning cars is a political act. As long as the point of departure is something which only a few can refer to, then it remains a duel between these few and the state.

This escalation which have taken place in Sweden and Denmark will probably die out as repression hardens and advances. It will probably reignite in a couple of months, or in a year? And then die out again. Provided that we do not attempt to expand and strengthen it with our own acts, ideas of and longing for freedom. It is neither guaranteed to succeed nor doomed to fail. Only one thing is certain, and that is that as long as we remain passive spectators or commentators, we are guaranteed the existence which we so intensely despise. If we have criticisms towards how some have acted during this escalation of car fires, then let us act in accordance with our ideas, and in that way show what we propose and what it means in practice. Especially if we wish something else from other rebels. A car belonging to a proletarian was burned at it disturbed you? What keeps you from going at a SAAB office, security cars or insurance company? If you think that one cop car was to little, see



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to it that more will go up in flames. It is not through passive nagging that our ideas can spread and their consequences be multiplied, but through action and consistent honesty towards ourselves. If we want to realize our ideas and dreams, then we have to take them and ourselves serious. By questioning traditions of struggle which have not moved us closer to our dreams, but rather to society. By searching for inspiration wherever we see revolt, and not just where we see people following political manuals. If we share ideas, it means a constant hostility towards this society. It means exposing oneself to uncomfortable social situations. It means risks. Such as the risk of loosing the privileges granted to you by the order you claim to despise. It means embracing and being embraced by the unknown and all the fears that come with it. It means trusting yourself and your ability to meet that which await beyond the break with normality. What is it exactly that have kept you from burning a car or from building barricades in the streets and attack the cops when they arrive? Whatever your answer may be, it is not a obstacle for you to find your own way to act in this conflict.

### **Into the Unknown**

We want freedom, and the way we see it this is incompatible with this society, well, with every society that deprives the individual of its power and self-determination. Thus is the destruction of this society, with its inherent authoritarian mechanisms, essential for us to be able to usurp what we want. As our point of departure is the everlasting now – neither deadlocked in a Marxist determinism nor consumed by a capitalist future investment of our energy and our dreams – and we want to live in anarchy now, not tomorrow or in a year, but now, our ends are closely interwoven with our actions. In other words: in anarchy we do not want to negotiate with authorities of all kinds, but attack them and in the worst case defend ourselves against them. So why would we negotiate with them now? In anarchy we do not want to organize ourselves in masses and pursue politics. So why would we do this now? Especially since history taught us that this serves the survival of society rather than the struggling individuals... We want to see the revolt spread without leaders and stagnating aims. We want to spread our revolts and see them become an insurrection together with other individuals athirst for freedom. To, at all, be able to get there, an expansion of the conflict that lies before us is clearly needed. So, how can a conscious expansion of this conflict take shape? Our goal is not to be able to count as many members as possible, in some sort of organization or movement, neither is it to put forth some demands for change or to be “strong enough” to be able to negotiate with or about the power. Our goals are, as has already been stated, as easy as they are hard to realize – freedom through revolt against those who deprives us from it. Thus can neither success nor expansion be measured in the number of participants in an uprising or if “normal people” sympathizes with us or not, but in the quality of our own

experiences, how our lives changes and where they take us. If a million people takes to the streets but in essence are only seeking a new leadership, a new shepherd, this is in every way a defeat. But if I in the right moment attack the right object, publish the right text – where right is a relative term, which can be underpinned by clear analyses of situations – or I enter new comradeships or meet new accomplices, and thereby new possibilities open up for me and others to prolong, deepen, strengthen and enlarge the extent of the own and the shared revolt, then I can talk about a success – with myself and my surrounding as benchmark. So, in this case the most obvious way to enter into the conflict, is first and foremost to take to the streets ourselves. For who are we to talk about all this, without having our own practical complicity? But to broaden the space for us, for our ideas and revolts, we should also identify the most active counterinsurgents and profiteers of this situation, as well as transforming them into obvious targets. The cops are already obvious in their role but not SAAB who supply them with drones and other equipment, neither are the insurance companies, the security companies and the politicians, using the situation to strengthen their power. Depending on the area in which you live, you for sure have your local authoritarian structures to identify and fight, whether it be a group of salafists, a racist hunting team, a neighbourhood watch or democracy loving social workers. It can be worth keeping them in mind, before running into them in the heat of the moment. All of the mentioned companies have nationwide offices in every bigger urban area and do have, just like the politicians, “names and addresses”. To point these out, to attack and to, with our own words, explain why this happens, is also to point out the structures of society and their relation to our existence in submission. Which could contribute to a more libertarian character of the revolt. More or less every enemy you can imagine in this society has a car. Nazis, politicians, CEO’s, cops, judges, screws and so on. Not everyone but most have cars and as we already have said: if someone’s choice of a car to burn has disturbed you, it is not hard to reproduce this act of revolt, but with an outcome that enriches your life.

This is all just scratching the surface, a hint of the possibilities that obviously has been neglected by comrades. Nevertheless, it is here we see the possibility for ourselves and those we consider to share our ideas with, to act and to expand this conflict. We have written this text to call for, that the revolt and the own ability to act is taken seriously. The insurrection and the social landscape is filled with contradictions and there are no simple recipes to fight a successful struggle against the world of authorities; we just simply have to try. But the first step must be to realize that there are already rebels that have set the torch of revolt ablaze, that have created a social tension where we can find thousands of ways to act if we want to. Not as followers or leaders that are to show the way to the real anarchist insurrection, but as accomplices in the destruction of the existent, with our own ideas, aims and actions. In this leap into the un-

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known, we have no guarantees for defeat or success, but we do at least have the possibility of that, which today is impossible: a world without authorities and rulers. ...so let the fire spread.

“We will destroy laughing, we will set fires laughing...”

### *Some insurrectionaries*

List of addresses to visit on: [sv.theanarchistlibrary.org/library/nagra-upprorsmakare-lat-elden-sprida-sig](http://sv.theanarchistlibrary.org/library/nagra-upprorsmakare-lat-elden-sprida-sig)

### **Notes:**

(\*1): Text, A few notes on media and repression, published on [solidariteit.noblogs.org](http://solidariteit.noblogs.org), on the 23rd of August 2016

(\*2): <https://sverigesradio.se/sida/avsnitt/786141?programid=2795> (Media was in this specific radio show criticized for having created a false picture and that the sprawl of car burnings should have been exaggerated and even somehow fuelled by media reports. This critique is just like the actual media reports based on statistics and full of contradictions.)

(\*3): In order to not lose focus, we leave a deeper analysis for another moment, but there is plenty of information on e.g. [contrainfo.espiv.net](http://contrainfo.espiv.net) for anyone on wants to dig in



## Who's afraid of the terror? ... about militarization, terror and a racist assassination in Munich

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August 2016 - Germany

*The following text, which already was published in August, and that we are documenting here in a shortened version, is a modest attempt following turbulent events – an assassination – to gain some clarity in the perspective on the past events and the ongoing developments. It was written under the impression how the media and the population on the one hand fall into mass-hysteria, to just join the canon of anti-terror-rhetoric in the next moment, without any contextualization of the incidents and without broaching the issue of the fact that the perpetrator has been a fascist, who was shooting specifically at people that seemed as migrants for him. As the bottled up fear of terror reached a climax to be vented, it seemed to be more suitable to withhold that it wasn't a soldier of the Islamic state, but a racist German citizen, who triggered this panic-stricken epidemic. This panic got fueled by the tweets about different attacks taking place in the whole city, posted by honest citizens who couldn't distinguish the plainclothes cops from the „real terrorists“. And indeed the whole city got immediately occupied by police – an outrageous power-spectacle – going together with the call to stay at home. As the „night of terror“ was over, the hour of the politicians arrived, who came up with their ready-made draft laws and boldest anti-terror measures. This scenario, in which the attack of a racist was the perfect occasion for the state, for which he had waited, to take in a even more racist and authoritarian course and to lift its ongoing project of militarization and social control on a new level, is the context, with which this text tries to deal. If we don't want to get into the ashamed position of having to admit to oneself, as many people are doing it, that the development of things and the existing conflicts are just too complex, to be able to visualize, and to justify in the next moment the own passive fatalism or, in face of the existing conditions, to draw out of disgust the consequence of an attitude in the mode of a cynical detachment – we have to make a minimal analysis. An analysis to take apart the single components of the processes to understand, what they are made of, what's their function and how they are connected and interacting. This is what the following text is attempting. On the one hand with the view and the*

*hope that this taking-apart fuels an anti-authoritarian sensibility, which is often the first target and victim of the logic of war since it always tries to impose its own logic on us – not only in the understanding of existing conflicts, but also in the running of our own struggles. In so far as the concepts of counterattack and the at all times reacting revenge are taking the choice away from us, on which terrain our struggles are taking part, since this is already getting dictated by repression, it is necessary to develop initiatives of struggle, that are determining this on their own. When we are looking at the new anti-terrorist government-techniques not only on paper, but attempt to understand how they are getting embedded now and in the future as concrete weapons in existing conflictualities and changing realities, they can be an occasion to intensify our already current interventions or to trigger new ones. Although realities are changing, it does not mean that our desires as also our enemies would be suddenly others. Even if in certain aspects a circle of power-constructs seems to close in their warlike longing for more power – a circle out of nationalism and states, of religiousness and militarism – it does not mean, that we have to attack this circle as such to interrupt the circulation in the little and on the whole. What should mean that intervening is everywhere possible. Since developing an anti-authoritarian sensibility does not mean to have to reinvent the wheel, but to put the finger there on the weak point and adding fuel there to the flames, where we reveal the vulnerability of power and where we can discover the potential for radical ruptures with it in doing so. Because when the offensive of power is putting us in the defensive from the beginning, or when we are thinking that its complexity is only tangible in abstract terms, the fluffing up of power has already done the first damage to our capability to launch conflicts. In this sense the text can be understood as a question, as a question inside of ongoing interventions and conflicts, that we are posing ourselves here, in our context, and that comrades in other places are also posing and are going to pose.... in what way are the realities of the conflicts changing that portray the terrain of our intervention, and in what way do we have to modify our interven-*

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*tions correspondingly? Where does the development of militarization offer favorable occasions to intensify our attack on this world of domination?*

*Or to say and begin it with the words of the text:*

(...) So what is this anti-terrorism, how shall we get protected and through what and by whom?

### **Information terror**

First of all anti-terrorism means in the eyes of the rulers, so as a technique of governing, to decisively have the channels of information in one's grip for being able to determine, what we hear about and how and what makes us afraid or searching for protection. If a crowd of people is confused and sees itself confronted with events, where it is not certain how to react, a direct advice, which everybody immediately receives, appears as a command, that everybody carries out. Be it a call to take refuge or stay inside to leave the streets to the state authority, or be it a call to go on the streets against the failed military coup and for the demonstrative support of the existing ruler – the short message is on a huge scale finding entrance into the psyche of the receivers. Here the potential for a new level of crowd control is developing. Not only that the messages on the screens of all the devices in private and public use are explaining to us, which events would have a relevance for our life, and through this try to form our perception and fears, no, already now behavioral orders are getting sent to people in real time. As the German family once still had to gather at the exactly right time around the „Volksempfänger“ (Nazi-innovation of a wannabe-radio), the radio or the TV to learn, where the enemy on the inside as on the outside is located right now, someone with the caliber à la Hermann or De Maizière (Bavarian and German minister of the interior) is sending his plans of action in real time. First through the all-over spreading and the rightly sorted presentation of events it works to create a proper enemy image. An enemy who could kill us all and hit at anytime, of whom we should be afraid all the time and against whom only the war of daddy state can achieve something, and which also we, as small clumsy citizens can perform our support and launch our own small war. Against the terror, for our security.

### **Racist terror**

(...) When the state seeks to intensify the protection and defense of „its people“, the racist clichés of what is perceived as danger, come clearly to the day light. That the assassination in Munich was at no time perceived in the context of the wave of ongoing racist attacks and mobilizations, the hundreds of arsons at refugee camps and the tradition of right terror-groups, but only as an element in the allegedly steady intensification of „terror“, shows which way the wind is blowing. In a society in which the identification of the individual with the state territory under its feet and the arbitrary drawn

and through wars obtained borders is so great, that it believes that these borders, the on the inside fenced people and the conglomeration of partly common habits and manners and produced economic profits have to be defended, it does not wonder that migrating and fleeing people are getting perceived as ballast, as problems to be solved, as foreign bodies to become integrated – as danger. Accordingly every upcoming occasion will get used to demand more surveillance of those strangers, to agitate for more and faster deportations, secure borders and generally more strict restrictions. (...)

Once upon a time the history of human being got violated by the perverse and abstract idea of a “pure nation's body“, by the vision of different cultures fighting against each other and dominant cultures (1) enforced through governments – by the brutal and bizarre invention of the nation state. Since then this disgusting idea, this Moloch of warring national cultures with clear borders and imperial claims has to get defended with absolute violence against millions of cultures in steady and diffuse change and the always wandering and migrating mankind. The increasing fascist movements, the motionless acceptance of the mass of deaths in the Mediterranean sea and the passing of laws, like the one for enforcement of the (Bavarian) dominant culture, are clear signs, that the belligerent nationalism is reaching a new level. The concept of nation and state, of dogmatic religion and homogeneous culture generally offer space for fascist and dictatorial elements, and these are also getting used, if it serves the extension of the own democratic power.

### **Military Terror**

Still during the racist shoot-out in Munich the military police prepared more or less autonomously for an intervention. The circumstances for a debate about the permanent militarization of society seemed to be ideal. Since then fast military actions in the interior are getting prepared, which has been a taboo since the end of national socialism. Along with this not only a new armada of prosecutors is getting employed but also new and better armed cops. The state authority increases rapidly, is getting new authorizations, bigger guns and also new special forces are getting created. Meanwhile people ask themselves, how a soldier could prevent somebody from blowing up himself or shooting into a crowd. Even in France, where there are soldiers on every corner, the carrying out of terrorist acts itself has never been interrupted or prevented. Militarization is about something else: The rulers are testing, how far they can go in the direction of improving their violence on the streets without being confronted with wide resistance. And in this realm we are eventually at a turning point. Those, who are pushing to implement the military on the streets in a case of emergency or already now, are explaining this with the argument that their work wouldn't distinct so much from the one in war zones – checkpoints, patrols and being steadily on duty to repel attacks. So the mili-

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tary supplements the police, since both are generally policing: In the control of a terrain through permanent presence, through besieging, through protecting borders and crucial points as well as through the controlling, checking and supervising of inhabitants. On the one hand the militaristic essence of the existing order and its subtle working and latently practiced war is revealing itself through this. But on the other hand an essential difference is that the police has the aim of pursuing the enemies of the state, the military has the aim of eliminating them. A colonel doesn't need a judge to give his soldiers an order to shoot, who are sitting in front of the military court, when they are refusing. If a pilot of a drone is eliminating supposed terrorists in Pakistan or Afghanistan out of a secure distance, the human collateral damage is already calculated. A soldier doesn't control the ID card of his enemy and is only getting active in the case of a arrest warrant, no, he knows only allies and enemies and on the uniform of the latter he's pointing his gun. A cop is not deciding – at least in theory – what's wrong and right, because this is the matter of the judge. Actually he's only allowed to become active in the case of a concrete suspicion to then charge the crime. The army has no need for judges, the declaration of war is the judgment over the enemy, whose elimination is legitimate from there on.

But who's the enemy on the German streets?

In Afghanistan, where the German military is stationed since years, terror attacks with many deaths are taking place regularly, which no soldier could ever prevent, since the islamists are not so stupid to dress up in uniforms. The aims of the mission are rather targeted aerial bombardments, drone attacks, the preventive elimination of enemies and the construction of state infrastructure as well as the permanent siege and military control of the terrain. For this soldiers are getting trained and when they are on a mission in another country, for example here, they are carrying this experience and training with them. The only long-term sense in the installation of the military on the streets is, in the eyes of the state, just to go exactly in this direction step by step. In the direction of precise military eliminations of state enemies in concrete danger situations like the ones of terror attacks or insurrections.

Since already 15 years the war against terror means thousands indiscriminately killed through bombings, mines and rifles, the permanent liquidation of enemies as the permanent military armament and the presence of weapons. What now comes back in the form of "terror", is the replying to the war in the same logic and with the same means. Thanks to the "achievements" of civilization of the steady militarization and thanks to the technological progress, nowadays nothing is more easy than to kill dozens of people with primitive means. Why should those – stuffed full with humiliation and social exclusion, steadily confronted with war and death, lustful for power, vengeance and sacrifice – not reach for the arms surrounding them to also blindly shoot in the crowd of the "enemy"?

The real terrorist act is the invention of a god, of a holy cause, to which you have to submit totally, for the rest is logical consequence. And as long as the belief in those gods is not getting destroyed, the vicious circle of holy wars will not be interrupted. No matter if the god of the soldiers might be a holy vote that leads to the democratic majority and the power to oppress the minority, or be it an authoritarian interpretation of a centuries old writing that legitimates the killing of all those that don't share it. No matter if it is the belief in technological progress, in satisfaction through the accumulation of goods in consumerist temples, or the belief in the categorization of humans in more and less valuable "races" – every belief in authority carries the idea of total war inside.

### Preventive terror

While we are noticing a massive expansion of police and military forces and shall get used to see hooded, heavily armed servants of the state, there is quite some measurements planned concerning prevention. Prevention means to hit before one has the possibility to think about resistance. It is aimed at the selection of the potentially undesirables and dangerous – who will be locked up in great numbers as a result, to render them harmless – through the perfect surveillance of borders, the population and minds. The frame for this authoritarian drift is delivered by a crisis or a state of emergency, which soon becomes normality and which is not anymore exceptional.

What renders the transborder collaboration between cops and soldiers at the borders and on the streets possible by means of technology, is total surveillance. In the field of thoughts this is done by the thought police – the interior and exterior secret services.

Those are also enlarged massively on all terrains; they are able to revert to the data preservation and are obliging the population to give indications of suspects. In France for example it is already a suspect hint if people are walking around without a cell phone, because they might want to escape out of the control terror to plan something criminal. Supported by new laws, that shall prevent anonymity on all levels, whether during talking on the telephone or during surfing on the internet, backed by the spy paragraphs, that are as well justifying the observation and surveillance by the BKA (German Federal Criminal Police), without a concrete criminal offense, only due to hints to criminal plans, and intensified by legal boundlessness of any kind, which is throwing over even every own youth protection law, there are huge data bases, which are categorizing people into different convictions. With this the basis for selection is built, that prohibits and persecutes ideas, that criminalizes the proximity to groups defined as extremist or the proximity to those who are perceived as organized criminals and that – depending on opinion and group – prohibits every open articulation of opinions which have been stigmatized as criminal and every support

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of these. In France for example already the opening of “terrorist internet pages” is punished in practice with two years of prison. At the same time there is a lot of experimentation with the different tools of punishment which provides even preventive detention respectively pre-trial detention, restrictions like regular reporting oneself at Police stations or the carrying of GPS bracelets or due to a pathologization, which means as a diagnosis that condemns as lunatic and abnormal and also the usage of the Nazi-paragraph of the forensic commitment or to the preventive detention, what in the end can mean a real life long incarceration in forensic detention or prison. Everything that is hesitantly getting tested at the moment at islamists and followers of the PKK will in the future affect any other person that is stigmatized as ideological extremist, also anti-authoritarians. From a perspective criticizing domination the question is not, if this technologically enabled, preventive selection is applied, but rather when. If authorities are extending their power then they will also use it.

What is applied already, concerning refugees, is the preventive detention in camps and prisons on a huge scale in front of and inside of Europe’s borders, as well as the specific selection of, for example, nationalities, which is suggesting the assumption, that the underlying concentration-camp logic will also concern other persons likely to threaten public safety – as for example islamists or anarchists, what has already been suggested in France – if the European swing to the Right is continuing. The continuity of state of emergency or preparation of state of emergency laws and the seizure of power by fascists, as well as for the counterinsurgency of anti-authoritarian movements is obvious. Even when in 1968 in Germany the passing of the emergency laws could not be prevented, a youth- and student revolt on a large scale caused their massive softening. Nowadays the public discourse seems to take place between conservative armament measures and fascist calls for total control and state omnipotence. An anti-authoritarian affront cannot find itself in this, and on the staged battlefield of the war of democrats against terrorists it is located on none of both sides.

It is only about to attack this show ruthlessly in itself because it is the show itself that is concealing that freedom is just a pale masquerade on the cheeks of the rabid actors.

### **What’s next?**

The states’ concern is not the defense of our freedom, but a power play. A power play, in which an international order of states little by little doesn’t care anymore about maintaining a democratic farce, because due to its search for total control it is trampling any democratic right to personal integrity of thoughts and intimate relationships under foot and declares war on proclaiming opinions in general. A power play with fanatic religious warriors who are taking every lackey to spread their names, in condition that he is willing to sacrifice his life.

The racist mob and the angry islamists might consider themselves on different sides of the barricades, but they are sharing likewise fascist beliefs of the clash of cultures and both are striving for reactionary models of society, although the racist discourse in this country is taking place on a totally different mass basis.

It is certain, that one must not rely on the state to fight them, because their seizure of power would mean our certain death or a life on the run. Nonetheless a revolutionary project is not oriented towards the “greater evil”, to defend the lesser one, but criticizes and attacks domination everywhere it is manifesting itself.

The state, whose chatter about prevention is obviously driving towards the direction of the destruction of any meager rest of freedom, who is answering the question of selection into religion or “race” with selection into origin or opinion, who answers the suicidal attack with war, the self-made bomb with thousands of soldiers, who reacts to the crude war propaganda with crude war propaganda and generalized armament and control – this state is our enemy, as it is every state, because every state is striving for the maintenance and extension of its power.

These violent conditions are producing violence and the brutalization and militarization of the existent will produce even more violence. In this sense the appetite for spectacle, the deep void of contents and the authoritarian fantasies of violence, that are becoming manifested in the islamist assassinations, are just a reflection of the warlike reality.

But how are we able to break through this logic of war, if it is occupying everything? How are we able to develop an utopian tension in our struggles, if the terms of the existent are contaminating our thoughts and acts? How can we fundamentally turnover the violence of the circumstances itself, instead of selecting within these conditions between Good and Evil?

Questions which cannot be sorted out in an abstract way.

If we are really standing at a turning point, this is also a beginning. And every transformation begins with us, in our relations and struggles. We can only speak about great transformations, if we are realizing a transformation already here and now within our projects and struggles, if we don’t let us become hardened by the conditions and if we are maintaining our capability of solidarity and tenderness. Instead of letting domination dictate us in our minds and struggles, where phantoms are located, we have to find out by ourselves, who is responsible for the misery that is surrounding us and its maintenance. This confrontation with reality means also a confrontation with us ourselves, with our desires and fears. If fear is always also the uncertainty in face of the unknown, that we cannot estimate, then we all have fears. Fears which are not weakness, but a challenge. Since the greatest social terror is the comprehensive fear of holding one’s life entirely, from one mo-

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ment to another, in the own hands and to be on one's own – to carry all alone the responsibility for oneself and one's life.

When we learn to deal with this fear and to carry this responsibility, we don't need soldiers, who are protecting us, no priests to bless us and no borders that are enclosing us. No matter if the obedience to orders and soldiery, the houses of god and the parliaments are calling themselves democratic, religious or revolutionary, they all are producing the spirit of belief in authority. This authority believing herd mentality, that little by little creates a void in place of our hearts and minds, which tries to make it impossible to imagine something beyond the existing desolation and which wants to push the logic of war also into our struggles. Through raising our savagery and lust for life we break through the prevailing militarism, the uniformization and advance of technology in society: by chasing the uniforms out

of the streets and squares, by appropriating the city, by destroying its cables and control instruments, by carrying the conflict with the existent into the minds, into the hearts and in front of the doors of our enemies and bringing our projections and projects to life through the solidarity and tenderness amongst the struggles and those who struggle.

*So that the fear changes sides!*

**Note:**

(1) Specific German expression which now gets introduced in laws. Referring to the idea that there should be one dominant culture – consisting out of the acceptance of laws and authorities, the sharing of a language, habits and democratic values – that all inhabitants of a nation share or have to be forced to share.



## Never into line, never on our knees! Down with all armies!

September 2016 - France

On November 16th, in Simiane (5,000 inhabitants, located between Aix-en-Provence and Marseille), nearly 180 soldiers of the Foreign Legion invaded the city. In this “life-size” exercise, professional assassins simulated an intervention by the army to regain control of the region, held by “rioters” and “pillagers” following the assassination of a political leader during the next Presidential election (April/May 2017). They fired bullets against opponents equipped with training grenades and airsoft guns (played by reserve officers and army retirees).

It is clear for several years now that the army is preparing, in France as elsewhere in Europe, to intervene within the borders against revolts or insurrections. The State has taken the pretext of the latest deadly attacks to reequip a large part of its minions and to accustom a delighted population to their massive presence on a daily basis. In addition to the mobile patrols of soldiers in the streets, it is thus the municipal police of many cities that have been endowed with 4,000 revolvers 357 Magnum since April 2015; the security guards of the SNCF, the RATP (Parisian transport) or the rural guards who can patrol in civilian clothes armed with semi-automatic 9 mm pistols since September 2016; or the CRS (anti-demonstration police unit), which now have military HKG36 assault rifles since April 2016, to use them in the event of urban riots.

These are, of course, only a few more visible examples of this anticipation to restore the bloody order of the state and capitalism, which is taking place against a backdrop of social conflict and ever more drastic economic restructuring. If we know for a long time that they are permanently ready to maintain their cemetery peace at all costs, both inside and outside the borders, it also seems to us that periods of instability and restructuring can be interesting in terms of agitation to open some breaches in the consensus and carry a practical criticism able to disrupt and disorganize at best their new devices. In Marseille, for example, which has just been selected as the base of the 3rd

division of the army (25,000 soldiers) as part of its modernization program, of which one of the objectives is to “adapt to the combat of movement, including in urban areas”, the comrades began a local agitation against these redeployments. Below is an article from the anarchist newspaper “Du pain sur la planche” n°4, September 2016...

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The atmosphere is really unbreathable these days: like stormy waves stirring the mud, the summons to stand at attention behind the national flag succeed one another. Extending the state of emergency month after month, continuous tightening of the penal code, constantly expanding the powers of the police, searches for-all and house arrests distributed by the shovel...

The State, which has for many years multiplied its interventions in wars and conflicts around the world (Afghanistan, Lebanon, Ivory Coast, Central African Republic, Libya, Mali, Iraq, Syria...), each time to consolidate positions considered strategic and to accompany the logic of exploitation and plunder of territories, extends its rhetoric and its arsenal of war here on the pretext of the “anti-terrorist” fight and the hunt on the “internal enemy”.

So the army is reorganizing itself around a plan called “In touch”, a whole program... The stated objective is to “face a tougher, more diffuse, closer threat”, but also “adapt to the combat of movement, including in urban areas”. In other words, to deploy on French territory, officially defined as a site of war. At the end of 2014, the State launched a program called “Scorpion” in order to modernize and optimize its military intervention capabilities, while making them more “flexible” and “reactive”. These plans confirm the perspectives developed over several years within NATO, relying on the use of armies in law-enforcing operations of the counter-insurgency type.



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The bulk of the army will now be organized around two new divisions: the first and the third, whose commands are respectively based in Besançon and Marseille, representing 25,000 soldiers each, divided into regiments. Hooray! Hooray!, “Marseille becomes a military place of first rank”, “a true military metropolis is born”, exclaims the cream of the enthusiasts of militarism, editors and journalists to the orders, those who clear the ground before the boots take over. These minions of power even play the role of advertising agency for the various recruitment campaigns. With in recent months renewed calls to commit yourself to the operational reserve, to increase its numbers from 24 000 to 40 000. With the reserve, and in time the National Guard\*, this is one more step that has been taken in the process of militarization of society. It is no longer the usual recruitment to stabilize the numbers of an army called “professional”. But rather to put in order, in a lasting and intensive manner, a genuine nationalist and authoritarian offensive. Not content with demanding ever more submission, and pushing “citizens” to act as auxiliaries of the police (think about Vigilant Neighbors for example), the State now invites the most zealous to wear the uniform directly. In order not to waste anything, the various propaganda media put forward the idea of transferring the military spirit that reservists will acquire during their formation into enterprises, and therefore into the service of capitalist exploitation.

Last June 20th, a whole bunch of politicians, soldiers, officers and journalists, with a total of 1,400 people, ponced about on the lawns of the garden of the Pharo to formalize the creation of the 3rd Division, whose headquarter is located in the Rendu neighborhood of Sainte-Marguerite in the 9th district.

Marseille, “military metropolis”? Aside from all the noise made around the event, this one marks an extra step in the deployment of uniforms, present massively for a long time in this city. Through countless barracks and former military forts, the EPIDE center\*\* in the 15th district, the neighborhood of the Foreign Legion in Maldormé, the patrols of Vigipirate and Sentinel, whose numbers almost doubled after the massacre of Nice. In fact, it is the whole region that is saturated and largely organized around structures devoted to war: airbase in Istres, training camps of Carpiagne and Canguers (the largest in Europe, located in the north of Draguignan), bases of Miramas, Nîmes, Hyères and Fréjus, naval base of Toulon, and more. Structures that are often linked by specific means of transport (railways, port platforms, stations and special roads) to transport soldiers and equipment.

Soldiers are tightening the grip of state control, whether to bolt the borders (between Menton and Ventimiglia for example), or within metropolises, in streets and stations, in addition to cops and other guards, to make more complicated certain daily insubmissions (shoplifting, frauds...), and to dissuade the inclinations to revolt.

The war of the mighty does not only produce the death of civilians by hundreds and thousands. It is not only a machine to crush individuals and bring people under the seal of authority and hierarchy. It is also an enormous economic windfall for many companies producing equipment, intelligence systems and weapons. We will only mention a few here: Bull, Nexter, Renault Truck Defense, Dassault, Thalès, all under the auspices of the DGA (General Armament Agency). Let us recall that these vultures rely on a myriad of subcontractors to achieve their ends, and that this production would be impossible without all the research laboratories (private as public) that perfect the tools of death.

The army is already planning a “gigantic military exhibition” next year in Marseille, “in order to leave its mark on the minds” and to “reinforce the link army-nation”. To block, to disrupt, to prevent concretely this parade which aims at both recruitment and propaganda, is an idea that comes immediately to those who obstinately refuse to be enlisted.

There is no question of marching in step with their morbid military marches which announce and fuel massacres and submission. When the nasty shadow of the kepis spreads, and the fashion of the khaki becomes viral, sabotage in word and deed, in the street, with a will and imagination. This squalid effort for war could also be fertile ground for spreading our desires of an excessive freedom, without nations or states, without limits and without borders.

#### Notes:

\* The National Guard would consist of all the reserves of the police, gendarmerie and military, including retired cops and civilian volunteers: a total of 200,000 persons. For example, the US National Guard was deployed both in “outside” wars, as well as in revolts, such as in Ferguson in 2014.

\*\* The EPIDE centers (Institution for Insertion into Employment) are kinds of reformatories that the government has created to place “young volunteers” (sic) who are too likely to develop their allergy to work, school discipline and obedience. Hence a regime based on the wearing of uniforms, strict schedules and coaching in military mode. Passing through these centers is supposed to lead to employment or training, in partnership with the Employment Agency.



## Interview with anarchists from Den Haag

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*December 2016 - The Netherlands*

*A conversation with two anarchist comrades from Den Haag, NL, an overview of the context, struggle and projects of a few anarchists from this city. We chose to transcribe this interview in order to better understand the particular path, circumstances and moments of revolt that have composed the experience of these comrades.*

### **Tell me a bit about the city itself...**

A – Den Haag is a city of 500 to maybe 600 thousand people, it is both the home to poor neighbourhoods, such as the Schilderswijk, the poorest neighbourhood in the Netherlands, and of the biggest institutions of justice of the European Union. The motto of the city is “Peace and Justice”.

It is the host of some of the most important military, intelligence and justice institutions of the European Union... Europol, international summit centres, international courts, embassies...

B – There is also an international zone, protected by security delta, this is not only for the State but also companies, it attracts companies, capital. This city has all changed in the last 15 years, someone in charge, from one day to the next, decided to flip the switch... and everything changed, all the dozens of squats were evicted, cleaned up, made the space for its new international role...

**You mentioned before the Schilderswijk, this neighbourhood is quite famous, but mostly we hear about it from mainstream news, can you talk a bit about it from your perspective and what kind of presence you have there?**

A – The Schilderswijk is densely populated and in the centre of the city it's a working class immigrant neighbourhood...it's a quite impressive difference, it changes from one street to the next...two opposite worlds living right beside each other... a few years ago, particularly this neighbourhood was hit by lots of austerity measures, with many of the public cultural

places shutting down, like libraries and social centres, at the same time there was implemented a zero tolerance policy, with many cameras being installed and frequent police controls.

B – A very intense stop-and-search routine. At the beginning it was a test... Police stopped trams, and take everyone out, like a hundred people, and id checks everyone, and could maybe find one knife, justifying this measure, they made it into a permanent routine... this has definitively contributed to increasing the tension in this neighbourhood, with young people being stopped multiple times in one day.

A – Yes, a constant build up of frustration...

**Can you talk about the role of religion in the neighbourhood? Would you say that with the disappearance of many social infrastructures, some religious institutions tried fill the vacuum?**

A – Religious structures were always present, but I have the feeling that a lot of the youth don't go there...or just a very small part.

B – But these structures are very willing and eager to be in good contact with the city authorities.

A – This neighbourhood always had a bad name, but its mostly the work of journalists, like this one from “Trouw”, who 3–4 years ago wrote an article talking about how in the neighbourhood exists the sharia triangle of the Netherlands – a name based on three houses that were apparently Daesh strongholds. At the time he wrote many many articles, “investigating” the religious fundamentalism. But some time later some of his colleagues made a counter investigation about his sources and his theories, and it turned out to be complete lies. Like people he supposedly interviewed didn't exist, etc. But by then the damage was done, the reputation was fixed.

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**But I do remember reading about two pro-Daesh demonstrations in the neighbourhood...**

A – Yes there were two, but this was also very much distorted by the media. You have to see it like this...The thing about this neighbourhood, is that there are normally many people on the streets, who show curiosity when things happen on the streets. Like when people get arrested, or an accident etc...The people there for the demonstration were around twenty, with around them a lot of onlookers. Out of this the newspapers created something a lot bigger than it actually was... following the narrative “the onlookers were muslims, or looked like muslims, therefore they must be in support of Daesh”... The police obviously could use this really well, to further control and repression.

B – ... In those years we were extremely present in the neighbourhood especially to talk about the problem of racism and police brutality, mostly spreading flyers, posters, pamphlets...but also talking to people, really just having many conversations, getting to know them and them us...They [the cops] tried to make it harder to make demonstrations, especially to break down these relationships that were building between anarchists and antifascists and people in the neighbourhood that were curious about our ideas, that wanted to support us, that wanted to act with us...

A – In 2013 we were mostly still talking about racism and police violence, at least these are the basis on which we started to have conversations with people...listen to their stories and share our views...

...Soon we started organizing demonstrations, to not just talk with people but also act together. This was also the time when the police started noticing us, they would follow us around, id check us, and especially when we would talk to people from neighbourhood centres, the cops would immediately approach them, threatening to shut them down if they did not take distance from us. But people came to us to tell us that this was happening.

B – But other people didn't. There is this story of one neighbourhood centre that had a subsidy of 15.000 euros a year, and after they went to city council and publicly took the side of the police, their subsidy went to 170.000 euros.

A – But yeah, generally this scared people, but most people didn't slam their door in our face, and still came to the demonstrations we organized, and were really angry about this police blackmail.

B – But towards us the police harassment continued quite heavy, taking of all our posters, arresting us while we were flyerling at the market...But the thing is that in this neighbourhood the anger towards the police was really boiling up. This is still 2013–2014.

**You said before that you were mostly talking to people about racist police violence, did your agitation stay on these topics or did it expand to a wider critique?**

A – Through all this experience and seeing how the police and mayor were really actively trying to buy people and threaten them, and seeing how the people were reacting, we could also find out better how all this power is specifically at play, the opportunists, the mediators, the pacifiers, the collaborators etc.

B – So we then started to also talk about this, expanding our critique against all forms of power, about the system that needs them, etc. We really wanted to agitate around how these people are being used by all forms of power, and propose our ideas of self-organization, direct action and struggle.

**What kind of concrete proposals were you making?**

A – In this time we were making, on a regular basis anti-police demonstration, to which many people from the neighbourhood came, like we started with less than 100 people and at the last one we were 250.

B – This was important for us, because it was a way of organizing with people, not just talking but also acting, and also to show ways of self-organization, but propose ways to do something about the rage, and to also show that this could be done outside of the institutional frames.

A – It was good, because people were pissed off and when you would talk about demos, they actually came... I mean as long as it was in their neighbourhood, they wont leave their neighbourhood...haha

**And why did these demonstrations stop?**

A – After the pro-Daesh demonstration, and after an anti-Daesh demonstration by fascists, they banned all demos in the Schilderswijk. This was 2014.

B – It was clear that the State had a plan, they permitted a far-right group to demonstrate in the Schilderswijk, which they knew would cause problems... to then immediately implement the ban... it was the perfect excuse...

A – So, yeah then we didn't demonstrate anymore, but we still agitated, kept our connections...

B – Which also played a big role during the days of the revolt, the fact that people knew us, recognized us...

**So, yeah the revolt...**

A – Mitch Henriquez got strangled to death in June 2015 by cops at a festival in the neighbourhood, there were a lot of people around so everyone was filming it...

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B – We didn't think there would be a revolt like this...it showed that even here in Holland a situation of conflict and rage can exist, spontaneously... we are told over and over that this is such a pacified country we end up believing it... but none of us had expected it...

**How do you think your presence in the neighbourhood played a role during this revolt?**

A – We could understand the neighbourhood...during the years we could feel the tension was rising, I would say we had a small influence in this, but it's impossible to measure... repeating over and over it is up to the people themselves to step up and revolt...

B – We were there on a constant basis, for years, something also new for us, a focus, a consistency...but this mostly paid off for us, an ability to understand something well, what's at play, a long term project... for our own development this was crucial, a learning process... with the addition that in the end people did rise up for a few days, and we could live these moments together...

**Can you tell a bit about how you and your comrades lived these days?**

A – We got a message from the mother of a friend of ours, she's from Aruba [like Mitch Henriquez], she sent us a link to a news site from Aruba talking about what happened in our city that someone had been murdered by the police...the media here were not speaking at all about it... so then we translated it and added our own views and critique. Then we searched on social media for more information and we found many videos from witnesses, we putted the videos on youtube. That day hundreds of thousands of people visited our website... not really the usual amount of people that visit our website... haha... Then the Dutch mainstream media picked it up.

B – Then the public prosecutor put out a statement saying that he was just ill, and people got really pissed, because it was clear in the videos that he had died...

A – We need to remember that in 2012 the police had already killed a 17 year old boy at the train station, shot him in the neck while he was running away...The police heavily repressed the situation, even beating people up at the vigils and remembrance ceremonies, like young kids, his friends... People still remembered this, and were still pissed.

B – But yeah, with Mitch Henriquez, people immediately announced a demonstration in front of the main police station in the Schilderswijk, a bit the symbol of police racism and brutality... by 5 o'clock that afternoon there were already over 1000 people in front. There were all kinds of people, some from the neighbourhood, some from other poor neighbourhoods, motorcycle gangs, anarchists, black lives matter activists...

A – Then people stormed the station, the riot cops came out, and then immediately people broke open the street, and then it started raining stones... this clash lasted till 4 in the morning...

**Did it only stay in front of the police station?**

B – It was also spreading to other parts of the neighbourhood... attacks against the police lasted for hours... They were not really prepared for this situation... it was really chaotic... but the neighbourhood has many small alleys for people to move really smoothly...they used it well, during the revolt very few people got arrested.

A – The next day the streets were really tense, you could smell it in the air, and by the evening there were again many attacks on the police and fires everywhere

B – ...but a little less than the day before...

A – ...on the third day the police admitted to having lied in their statement [saying that M.H. had just fallen ill]. This was an other spark.

B – A demonstration was again announced at the police station, the police immediately tried to push people back, and the riot started again, and this was the most hardcore day... people were better organized, in groups, with materials...

A – There were lots of really heavy fireworks... constant heavy fireworks, we really don't know where such a quantity came from... then there were molotovs, to which the police responded by shooting live ammunition in the air... there were lots of undercover cops, the really nasty ones that usually arrest people quite brutally, on that day the table turned and they got properly beaten up... anyways, all cops were running that night...

**Was there only attacks on the police or did the riots expand to other forms of power?**

A – There were also many banks that got completely trashed, and the main supermarket was looted... but people didn't attack the small shops of the neighbourhood...you know they all know each other...

B – Then on fourth day everyone just got mass arrested, and the main mosque send out young people in yellow vests to convince people to go home...but they were mostly ignored... it was people from a radical mosque, but they took the opportunity to ally themselves with the mayor, to become friends...

**It sounds really angry... was it also joyful?**

A – It depends on the moment I guess, sometimes it felt like people were blinded by rage, while in other moments it felt like they were playing...

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### **What happened after those days?**

B – After the revolt many people got arrested...many people weren't masked, and they released all this footage and pictures, lots of raids...

A – These arrests went on for a year, some people stayed a long time, but most of the people we didn't know, and we didn't really know how to deal with it, we supported a few people that we knew.

B – Then we made an anarchist newspaper, a wall newspaper, speaking of the revolt how it should continue, and against this rhetoric that the media pushed saying that the only people there were thugs and hooligans from other cities and anarchists.

A – They especially blamed anarchists for organizing the riot, this was not fair, in the sense of disrespectful for the people of the neighbourhood, who rose up themselves...

B – ...of course it's typical, they want to find their small group of people to focus on and separate from the rest, the bad apples... but they also continued the narrative that the people of the neighbourhood, poor, marginalized people are not capable of taking matters into their own hands... it keeps portraying them in this helpless role...

A – So they started to really focus on us... they arrested one person putting up a newspaper, at first he spent 3 days in prison and then got charged with 8 weeks for incitement to violence and discrimination...

B – Hundreds of posters were put up during a few days... Then we made an other poster...the amount of attention they put on this is pretty crazy, it was on national news...

### **Why do you think they are so scared of a poster?**

A – It's hard to say if they are just paranoid that our ideas become contagious, and that people rise up, or if it's just a tactic to put all the blame on the anarchists to avoid and deny talking about the fact that actually it is an entire neighbourhood that is angry and is capable of doing something about it...

B – I mean I don't think its just paranoia, its a strategy... because its just a poster... a revolt does not start just from a poster, that would be great...I mean if it did our job would be a lot easier...

A – But anyways the neighbourhood was a bit quiet, there was an intense manhunt, people laid low...

### **Can you talk specifically about the kind of repression that hit the anarchists since the revolt?**

A – Since then there has been a lot of repression... eviction of our social centre, arrests, area bans for the

neighbourhood... I suppose it also made us quite tired... still determined but repression was working.

B – The mayor is on a quest to get rid of us. He is furious...he used all his weapons...from our files we know that he called out this special meeting to discuss about the anarchist problem. This meeting is called CTER (Counter terrorism, extremism and radicalization) in which he sits at the table with authorities with different repressive functions, like national secret services, local secret services, prosecutors, tax agency. Then all these institutions accumulate their information about a certain group and put it in one file, called the CTER file, they do mapping of the group, pick people out, and then they strategize together on ways of building the repression from different angles. So we had a lot of surveillance, harassment, evictions, controls, bans, arrests, fines, court cases. Eventually this might lay the ground for charges like "criminal organization" or "terrorist organization", but yeah, nothing is sure... And all the individuals in this file get a different treatment, and they experiment with their arsenal of repressive measures to see what works best...

### **How did you react on this? Or better usually when people are hit by repression they just react, it's hard to build a perspective...**

A – We discussed about it, wrote about it, spread it, put it into context, not to just say that these are random incidences, but to say that they have an agenda, this is a strategy...

B – But every time a small thing happened we acted, we made a spontaneous demonstration in the Schilderswijk after the person got arrested for the newspaper, after the area ban we did a flyering action at the city hall, with quite some disturbance... but these were small things...

A – The accumulation of all this bullshit and also seeing that we were not the only anarchists facing repression in this country gave us the idea of calling out for a big demonstration [Fight Repression, November 2016].

### **The "Fight Repression" demonstration of November 2016, right? What was behind the idea of making an open call out? I mean it is quite a big risk in the Netherlands, anti-authoritarian demonstrations are heavily repressed since years in this country...**

B – We wanted to make an open call out, we wanted many people to come, to show that we are not alone, and that we are supported, to include different stories of repression, in fact to talk about the fact that everyone faces repression, and give the opportunity even for those who are not organized to fight against it.

A – At the starting point there was lots of police, they immediately kettled us in, said that we were not allowed

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to wear masks, closed it up even more and arrested everyone, one by one, it took them hours.

B – People got released a few hours later. 25 people managed to remain anonymous, to not be identified.

A – It was really shit how it went, but we are not defeated, people there were motivated, were up for it. We were really impressed that more than 250 showed up... I mean these days it does give a lot of strength and courage to see that you are not alone, and that many people are angry about repression, feel it on their own skin, want to fight it, but we also need to find new ways of expressing this fight, ways of being more unexpected, a new imagination.

**What projects do you have for the future?**

A – We need to build some new points of reference for ourselves and for people interested in our ideas,

to gather and discuss, organize. A lot has been taken away from us and to continue to struggle with some kind of consistency we need to have some points of reference. We are building a social space, where we will have a bookstore and a meeting space for a little bit of stability. This will be on the edge of the Schilderswijk. But we want to especially continue the struggle in this neighbourhood, it would be a pity to let all this effort go to waste, so we will continue to agitate, act, be present.

**Why did you agree to this interview?**

B – It's a way to confront ourselves with an experience of struggle, to talk about it, so we can share it and think about it...the problems we are facing, how we and others can learn from them, sharpen ours and their struggle... and perhaps there are some elements of our situation of the last years that can be interesting and helpful for other comrades...



### The reproducibility of attack and informal organization

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October 2016 - Belgium

The text “Reproducibility, propagation of attack against power and some related points” coming from Mexico raises, in my opinion, important issues about anarchist action. The debate is certainly not new and has always accompanied the revolutionary movements through their tumultuous history. How to propagate direct action and attack while avoiding that these practices will be locked up in the cage of an Organization, of a Group, in structures which, over time, stiffen and eventually erect, beyond the will that can animate those who are part of it, obstacles to this propagation of the attack. The Mexican comrades pointed clearly to its obstacles: fetishism of the instrument of attack, delegation, centralization, the pursuit of representativeness, the pursuit of hegemony. And indeed, it is not enough to be an anarchist to avoid falling into such traps.

I would like to take advantage of the space of discussion opened by this contribution of Mexican comrades to deepen some points. The first is, in my opinion, reproducibility, which the Mexican comrades describe as the fact that “*acts of sabotage are carried out with means easy to devise, to use, to obtain and therefore within reach of and available to anyone*”. I can only agree with this definition, while thinking that it also lacks something. For, in my opinion, reproducibility is not an invariable recipe for the insurrectionary anarchist struggle. Not all acts, not all attacks are reproducible, which does not negate the need to nevertheless realize them. Cer-

tain interventions of anarchists may have a specificity, whilst being totally linked to the social conflict, which does not allow us to speak of “reproducibility”. We think of certain sabotage actions, precise and not necessarily “easy” to carry out, or of attacks that target specific protagonists of power. What I mean is that the idea of reproducibility can not cover the whole range of anarchist action. Sometimes we are going to have to do things that are not reproducible, which might very well not be much appreciated or understood by “the exploited”, but which contribute just as much to the insurrectional perspective. The action of *active minorities* can aim at reproducibility, may stimulate the spread of attack, but, and this *seems* paradoxical but is not, on reflection, not at all, can also take upon itself, and only upon itself, to do certain things that must be done to prepare the ground, to remove obstacles, to spark off the rupture.

Having said that, I therefore believe that reproducibility, rather than being a principle that should guide insurrectional action, is a *method* of insurrectional struggle. And the method takes its meaning inside a project of struggle. The method also already contains the purpose of the struggle. One can not fight authority with authoritarian forms of organization. Reproducibility as a method then requires not only the identification and use of tools within reach of all, but also a whole work of identification of the enemy. Because reproducibility is only possible when we are able to identify a multiplicity

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of small power structures scattered over the territory. This dissemination is also a necessary condition for reproducibility. I find it difficult to imagine how a real propagation of sabotage can be achieved if, for example, in the struggle against the construction of a high-voltage line, the comrades identify only the institution that has financed the construction as the target of the struggle. Reproducibility becomes possible when, precisely, the view shifts and identifies the hundreds of pylons, scattered along the new line, as potential targets for sabotage. I realize that this is a somewhat banal and simple example, but I think it allows us to grasp the need to consider reproducibility, and therefore diffuse attack, as an integral part of a project of struggle. And the project, in turn, is composed of many elements (methods, perspectives, organizational proposals or occasions, knowledge, analyzes,...).

This brings me to another point that I wanted to touch, and which touches on the eternal question of informal organization and of which, under no pretext, should we get tired, trying to deepen its theoretical and practical knowledge. If I share the ideas evoked in the text of the Mexican comrades in relation to the autonomy of action of the individual, the search of affinity, the notion of informality, I believe on the other hand I diverge on one point, and it is when they say “when we speak of informality, we do not only speak of it as an organizational method of the anarchist struggle, we speak of it as a way in which the individual acquires an absolute autonomy”. I do not believe that informal organization (that is, coordination between affinity groups for a specific, defined and temporary purpose, and the possibility of this coordination acting within the self-organization of the exploited in struggle and intermingling without losing oneself) necessarily implies “the absolute autonomy of the individual.” Perhaps it is a semantic question, but I think that if I engage in a project of struggle, together with my affinities, and in addition, we coordinate with other affinity groups, I can not consider myself to be “absolutely autonomous”. On the contrary, we make agreements, make commitments and I do not think that I can appreciate very much the one who makes a commitment to then, all of a sudden, withdraw this commitment. Otherwise, it’s not an informal “*organization*”, it’s just an informal *milieu*. When one forms an organization (obviously informal), it is precisely to go further than the sum of individual capacities. Such an organization must, in my view, always stimulate *maximum* autonomy of action of individuals and affinity groups, but it can not be *absolute* since it is defined by the purpose of the organization. If I speak of informal organization, it is to indicate a form of organization based on affinity, which has a specific and temporary purpose which does not represent the “anarchist movement” and does not aspire to a representativeness of anything, but which is only directed towards the insurrectional aim. In a way, it is “the organization of tasks”.

Again, we must be careful, I think. For the utterly necessary criticism of “specialization” does not mean that our

condition for giving oneself, at a certain moment and with a certain aim, an informal organization is that everybody does everything at the same time. I’m afraid it’s just unimaginable. The organization will allow us to put together, within a project, the different knowledge, capacities and desires that exist. Criticism of roles is important because it emphasizes that the journey of development, acquisition of knowledge, search for affinity, deepening of ideas is a journey “for life”, that it is a permanent challenge, that our individuality can not be enclosed in an identity with the use of this or that tool (the writer, the saboteur, the robber, the propagandist,...). And it is not that this permanent quest stops once one enters into an informal organization, but... the organization of tasks does not mean to me that we all do the same at the same time. While avoiding delegation, it is in a coordination that one group will propose to take care of this, another one of that, another will provide support, etc. And every thing requires precise knowledge, often matured through reflections, analyzes, experiments, encounters, occasions,... To put it frankly: it is not because we refuse specialization that when a group to fire is needed to cover an action that one will choose the one who never held a firearm in its hands to take the responsibility. That said, to try to counterbalance a little what I have just said and that may be taken as a reduction of the informal organization to a technical question: “*Informal organization is not simply a functional answer to a practical question. It is not the magic word able to open all doors, nor is it one of the many keys available in the toolbox. To deny its technical role would be a hypocrisy, as much so to lessen the ethical dimension. It could be defined as the organization of those who do not have and do not want an Organization – as the preparation, predisposition and coordination of those who are faced with the practical problems of action, not only in the immediate present, but also in the future, beyond and against any politics. Because being alien to calculation does not mean forgetting the perspective, just as being sensitive to intoxication does not mean indulging in bliss.*”

Finally, one last thing I wanted to say is that the propagation of attack also requires making available and sharing knowledge of the instruments of attack. And how can we do that? There are examples in the past where in the revolutionary journals recipes and techniques of sabotage were published, commented upon and discussed. There were also technical studies that detailed certain structures of the enemy, such as for example an electric transformer, railways or a gas station. Today, we still need to create these spaces for knowledge sharing, especially when we think of all these new power infrastructures such as fiber optics, data centers, antennas and so on. The spread of such knowledge can only have a beneficial influence on the spread of attack, demonstrating that if there is willpower, determination and some effort, the king is effectively naked.

*An anarchist from Brussels*





- 5** - SWEDEN - *Let the fire spread*
- 11** - GERMANY - *Who's afraid of the terror?*
- 16** - FRANCE - *Never into line, never on our knees! Down with all armies!*
- 18** - THE NETHERLANDS - *Interview with anarchists from Den Haag*
- 23** - DEBATE & COMMENTS - *The reproducibility of attack and informal organization*

The next issue will be published in March 2017. The deadline for contributions to be sent is the 1<sup>st</sup> of March 2017. Contributions can be sent to [correspondance@riseup.net](mailto:correspondance@riseup.net)

#### Debate and comments

Also in the next issue, a section of Avalanche will be reserved for debates and comments. For sending such texts in for publication, we invite the comrades to take as a starting point issues, problems, perspectives that were raised in texts already published in Avalanche.

The idea of this section is to offer a space for international exchange between anarchists in struggle, deepening of certain aspects, critiques on certain proposals,...